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SUBJECT Phuc-Quoc-Dong-Minh-Hoi

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Comment. The Viet Nam Phuc-Quoc-Dong-Minh-Hoi has recently re-emerged at Canton upon the Indochinese political scene. A review of the past history of the Phuc-Quoc and its associations is necessary in order to understand the development of the present organization.)

## A. BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

1. During the first World War the revolutionary movements in Indochina were relatively small. It was during the period 1919-1930 that a real consolidation of revolutionary doctrine took place in Indochina. The movements became more political than sentimental. Three principal parties emerged in Indochina: the Viet Nam Quoc-Dan-Dang (Viet Nam Nationalist Party); the Thanh-Nien-Dang (Youth Party); and the Tai-Viet-Dang (New Viet Nam Party). At this time the QDD represented the petite bourgeoisie and a part of the intellectual elite. The TND represented the proletariat and a part of the peasantry. The TVD included various elements but it disappeared from the political scene in 1930.
2. Among the expatriates in China the situation developed along somewhat different lines. A large number of parties were created by the expatriates under titles similar to those of previously existing parties in Indochina, but not necessarily with any close connection with them. The most important of the parties organized by the expatriate elements were the Quoc-Dan-Dang, the Thanh-Nien-Dang, and the Phuc-Quoc. In the 1930's these and other Indochinese parties grouped themselves together from time to time to form a united Indochinese nationalist front, the Viet Nam Cach-Minh-Dong-Minh-Hoi. It was question of temporary and partial collaboration with individual rivalries continuing to exist. The principal purpose of this alliance, such as it was, was to permit better relations with the Chinese Kuomintang. No similar situation existed in Indochina until 1945 and consequently this alliance did not appear there until that time. During the 1930's some members of the Phuc-Quoc left China and Hong Kong for Formosa and Japan. In Japan, the Phuc-Quoc reformed under Japanese auspices and under the direct aegis of Prince Cuong De, claimant to the Annamese throne who left Indochina about 1913 and went to Japan where he has remained ever since.

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25X1A

-2-

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3. During the Second World War the Indochinese political parties continued to develop along somewhat different lines in (a) Indochina, (b) Unoccupied China, and (c) Japan and Occupied China. In Indochina and Unoccupied China there was the Dong-Minh-Hoi, the previously mentioned alliance among all the nationalist parties. The great function of this alliance, which included the Communists, was to preserve good relations between the Indochinese independence movement and the Sino-American allies. At the same time there was a parallel consolidation of the pro-Japanese parties in Occupied China, Siam, Japan, and Indochina itself. In Indochina the Dai-Viet-Dong-Minh-Hoi, [REDACTED] Comment. This should not be confused with the previously mentioned Viet Nam Gach-Menh-Dong-Hoi formed by nationalist elements in China ) an amalgamation of pro-Japanese parties, included elements from the Dai-Viet Quoc-Dan-Dang, the Dai-Viet-Quoc-Xa, the Cao Dai, and the Thanh-Nien-Tien Phong. In Siam the pro-Japanese groups were formed into the Lien-A Dong-Minh-Hoi. In Occupied China and Japan the Phuc-Quoc was the pro-Japanese Indochinese organization. All these pro-Japanese parties formed the Phuc-Quoc-Dong-Minh-Hoi (Grand Alliance for Viet Nam National Recovery). This pro-Japanese group recognized Prince Cuong De as its spiritual leader.

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4. During the war the leadership of the Phuc-Quoc-Dong-Minh-Hoi was as follows:
- a. Japan: Prince Cuong De and his chief assistant Hoang Nam Hung (see appendix for biographical information)
  - b. Siam: Nai Van Thong (see appendix)
  - c. China and Chinese Frontier: Tran Boi Long (Canton) (see appendix); Tran Trung Zung (Langson, died in 1940)
  - d. Indochina: Ngo Dinh Diem, delegate from the party in Japan; Tran Trong Kim

5. The Phuc-Quoc's collaboration with the Japanese ended badly for those members who sincerely believed that they were serving the cause of Indochinese independence. Zung was killed by the French at Langson just before the Japanese occupation of Indochina. Kim became a puppet Prime Minister under the Japanese and has since been rather discredited. Diem was the Vietnamese chief of Japanese intelligence during the war, but since the Japanese surrender he has not played an important role, even in his collaboration with the French. Thon has become a private citizen in Bangkok but may become more important in the future. The Japanese intended to bring Cuong De back to Indochina as chief of state after March 1945, but events moved too rapidly. Since the Japanese surrender Cuong De and Hoang Nam Hung have led comparatively inconspicuous lives in Japan. [REDACTED]

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6. After the Japanese surrender the Langson section of the Phuc-Quoc was the only group to maintain its outward identity and activities. [REDACTED]

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#### B. RE-EMERGENCE OF THE PHUC-QUOC - CURRENT ACTIVITIES

7. At the end of 1947 the Phuc-Quoc began to re-emerge. Cuong De sent Hoang Nam Hung to Canton. He was actuated by the following motives: he observed the increasing struggle against world communism and saw the US lending more and more support to persons who were against communism; he was aware that Bao Dai was enjoying a certain amount of favor with the French and that the role of royalty was not finished; he wished to learn how strong Bao Dai actually was - he intended to ally himself with Bao Dai if he found him really strong, or he intended to "act separately" if he found him weak.

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-3-

8. Hung talked with the Secretary of the Kuomintang in Canton who became very much interested in the Phuc-Quoc and its projects. A special delegate, Yu (fuu) (余), was subsequently appointed by the Kuomintang in Nanking to take charge of relations with the Phuc-Quoc.

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9. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Comment. The following paragraph contains speculations on future political developments made by Vuong Minh Son, spokesman for the Phuc-Quoc in Canton. They are indicative of the views of the Phuc-Quoc.) The Phuc-Quoc recognizes that there is a confused balance between the French and the Viet Minh in Indochina, and that the Viet Minh controls almost all the anti-French resistance. However, the Viet Minh is Communist-controlled and therefore cannot hope for support from such foreign powers as the United States. Nevertheless, every Vietnamese must be anti-French and his first duty, no matter who he is, is to resist the French. But Indochina cannot exist in a vacuum. Her position depends first upon the situation of her great neighbor, China, and second on the international situation. China is torn by a civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists; and the world is torn by a similar, but undeclared, conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. Since Indochina is geographically nearest that part of China where the Kuomintang is comparatively strongest and is also in the American sphere of international interest, Indochina must woo both the Kuomintang and the United States. Although it is of primary interest for every Vietnamese to be anti-French, the attitude of Indochina toward China is, in some ways, more important than its attitude toward the French. Regardless of which side wins in China, the winning side will be anti-French. If the Communists win, Ho-Chi-Minh will be complete master of the situation in Indochina. In that case the Phuc-Quoc will "bow to the will of the people". If the Kuomintang wins, Ho will automatically disappear before such a powerful enemy and the Kuomintang would help the Phuc-Quoc expel the French. If there is a compromise between the Communists and the Kuomintang in China, there can be a similar understanding between Ho and the Phuc-Quoc in Indochina and the two can cooperate to expel the French.

10. After its re-emergence, the first task of the Phuc-Quoc was a diplomatic one. This task, in its initial phase, was divided into three parts:
- a. To obtain recognition from the Kuomintang. This has already been accomplished. The Kuomintang has addressed secret, but official, letters of encouragement to the Phuc-Quoc. It has designated a special representative to deal with the Phuc-Quoc and is providing a residence in Canton and some financial support for the Phuc-Quoc representatives.
  - b. To gain the support of American newspapermen in Canton and Hong Kong. The Phuc-Quoc is already satisfied in this respect.
  - c. To establish good relations with the Chinese press. This has also been accomplished and relations are very satisfactory.

11. The second task of the Phuc-Quoc was an organizational one. It is divided into several steps:

- a. To establish a Central Committee. The Central Committee is now functioning in Canton. It is located at Yut-Hua Road (越華路) No. 123, first floor, Canton. The honorary President is Prince Cuong De, in absentia. The active President is Hoang-Nam-Hung. The spokesman is Vuong Minh Son. Other members include Phan Trong Doan, Truong Anh Nghia, Tran

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Boi Long, and Hang (fnu).

b. To reunite the former members of the Phuc-Quoc and rally them around Quang De. Reestablish contact with Mai Van Thong in Siam, with Nong Quoc Long in Langson, and with Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon. Progress is now being made in this respect.

c. To recruit new party members and soldiers. Progress in this respect is being made. The Central Committee is sending representatives to various regions for this purpose. Recruitment is done at the expense, to some extent, of pro-Viet Minh and pro-French elements, but perhaps chiefly at the expense of adherents of the DMH and the QDD.

d. To recruit sympathizers among Chinese who were formerly residents of Indochina. The most promising section of this group are those who were financially ruined or otherwise seriously injured by the French and yet not accepted by the Viet Minh and those who were ruined or injured by the Viet Minh. The Phuc-Quoc's principal contact man for this purpose is Liu P'un (劉平). Liu P'un was in charge of a small and rather ineffective "Sino-Vietnamese Friendship Association" under the auspices of the Viet Minh in Canton in early 1947. It was later abandoned by the Viet Minh. This part of the Phuc-Quoc's plan is a long-term one with the purpose of establishing sympathetic elements throughout Kwantung and Kwangsi.

e. The Phuc-Quoc is in contact with a Chinese society called Hong Men, "Red Gate" (紅門). This society has a sort of outward religious appearance, but is in reality the instrument of certain Chinese feudal lords. Like so many Chinese societies, it partly political and partly brigand. Its religious aspect is for the purpose of obtaining contributions from Overseas Chinese. The Phuc-Quoc's principal contact is with the leader of the Kwangsi section of the Red Gate, a rich man of Liuchow named K'uang Yan-fu (光衍福). He is about 75 years old and was a close associate of Sun Yat Sen. He has undertaken to recruit Chinese troops and to place them at the disposal of the Phuc-Quoc for an eventual attack in Indochina. This project is still in the early stages.

12. In order to form an estimate of the potential importance of the Phuc-Quoc's current actions the following may be cited:

a. Two of the followers of Nguyen Tuong Tam expressed the opinion that the Phuc-Quoc is of little importance, and that Tam's group intended to pay no attention to them. Nevertheless, Vuong Minh Son stated that Tam frequently sees the Phuc-Quoc leaders. ~~Comment~~ Comment. One may therefore suppose that Tam takes the movement seriously but does not want to openly admit the importance of a political rival. It is impossible at present to assess the possibility that Tam may eventually throw in his lot with the Phuc-Quoc. 25X1X

b. A Vietnamese, who is one of the most important French intelligence agents in Hong Kong, at first stated that the French regard the Phuc-Quoc as being of no importance. He later admitted, however, that the French are very worried about the Phuc-Quoc and are watching them closely.

c. The real opinion of the Viet Minh regarding the Phuc-Quoc is at present unknown. ~~Comment~~ Comment. Some speculations may be useful in order to gauge the importance of the Phuc-Quoc. Are they mere profiteers and "business men in politics", or do they constitute a serious political movement? Their past history, during the Sino-Japanese war, suggests that they may be more profiteers than politicians. At present, they are much weaker than would appear from reading their propaganda. In their published propaganda. 25X1X

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they are anti-Bao Dai and anti-Viet Minh. In private conversation, however, they say that they are for Ho Chi Minh because he is resisting the French and they will contact Nguyen Luc Thuy, the Viet Minh technical representative who is often in China. They also say that they will be for Bao Dai if he can achieve independence for Viet Nam. It appears likely that they have received some solid support from the Kuomintang. Even General Hsiao Wen, ( 蕭 文 ) a Kuomintang man who was closely concerned with Indochinese affairs and was Political Adviser to the Chinese occupation troops in Tonkin and who formerly favored the Viet Minh, has, according to Vuong Minh Son, been seeking to woo the Phuc-Quoc. It is natural that the Phuc-Quoc should receive Kuomintang sympathy; their former collaboration with the Japanese is more easily forgotten and forgiven than the recent collaboration of the supposedly pro-Chinese QD with the French. The most important question is whether the Phuc-Quoc will succeed in attracting popular support in Indochina. Several factors are in their favor in this respect. The vast majority of the population is strongly anti-French, but not necessarily pro-Viet Minh, and not at all pro-Communist or pro-Russian. Consequently, a genuine anti-French movement which would be at the same time anti-Communist may attract considerable support. The leadership of the Phuc-Quoc contains some capable men. Their propaganda is well written and persuasive.)

## C. APPENDIX BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

13. Hoang Nam Hung. Born in Tonkin about 1882. Education of the old school, Annamese in Chinese characters. Emigrated to China between 1915 and 1920. Served in Chinese regional armies in Kwangsi and later in Yunnan. In about 1929 the Governor of Yunnan promoted him to the rank of General as a result of a successful campaign against certain bandits. Some time between 1931 and 1933 he went to Canton and joined Nguyen Hai Than's Dong-Minh-Hoi. About 1936 he went to Formosa to join Chiang Kai-shek. He became Chiang Kai-shek's private secretary and has remained as such until the present time. In the summer of 1947 he went back to Canton with the assistance of Vuong Minh Son revived the Phuc-Quoc. He speaks good Annamese, Japanese, Mandarin, Cantonese, a little Fukienese, not much French or English. He has a rather slow mind and is not a great intellectual. He is ambitious, intriguing, insinuating, and not much loved by other members of his party.
14. Vuong Minh Son. Born in Cochinchina about 1904. Real name: Nguyen An Khong or Nguyen An Khang. He has sometimes claimed to be the brother of Nguyen An Ninh, the great nationalist leader of Cochinchina who died at Poulo Condore in 1945, but the claim is false. He speaks Mandarin, Cantonese, Annamese, and English. Received primary and some secondary education in Cochinchina. At the age of twenty he left Cochinchina and travelled extensively, to Siam, to China, and possibly to Japan. Claims to have travelled in Europe and to have spent some time in London. Numerous professions: private teacher, broker, merchant. Returned to Tonkin at the end of 1945 or early 1946 and offered his services to Ho Chi Minh, but was not accepted. After a few months he went to Kuangchow. In 1947 he went to Canton. His first known contact with the Phuc-Quoc was with Hoang Nam Hung in Canton in 1947. He is now spokesman of the Phuc-Quoc and is charged with maintaining contact with newpapermen and officials. He is a friend or close acquaintance of Chang Fa-Kuei.
15. Mai Van Thong. Born about 1885, probably in Cochinchina. Old school education, Annamese in Chinese characters. He travelled during his youth and from 1930 on he travelled in China, Formosa, and Japan. In 1939 he was employed by the Japanese as an intelligence agent in Siam and Burma. He was arrested by the British in Burma in 1941 as a Japanese spy, and was released by the Japanese when they occupied Burma. In 1942 he returned

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to Bangkok and was a leader of the Japanese sponsored Lien A-Dong-Minh-Hoi. After the Japanese surrender he remained in Bangkok. He is now a small cloth merchant and enjoys considerable respect among the Vietnamese population of Bangkok. His relations, in general, with the Viet Minh in Bangkok are cool. He has a particular hatred of Tran Van Giau, supposedly because of a small personal incident that took place some time ago. The French approached Thong in 1946 or 1947 but he refused to work for them. As leader of the Lien-A he depended directly upon the Japanese and his relations with the Phuc-Quoc during the war were rather loose. After the Japanese surrender he maintained contact with Japan chiefly through Chinese businessmen. Hung recently established contact with him through a Vietnamese businessman. Thong speaks Cochinchinese and Tonkinese, Cantonese, Mandarin, Fukienese, Japanese, and comprehensible French and English. He also speaks good Siamese, Burmese, Cambodian, and Malay. He has an agreeable and tactful personality. Two other names previously used by Mai Van Thong are: (a) Josef Benro (Used at times from 1935 to 1947 when in Macao. He was arrested there at the request of Hong Kong authorities but was later released.) (b) Thakin Zir (Used when in Burma.)

16. Tran Boi Long. Born about 1882 in Tonkin. Son of a mandarin. Good education of the old school. Between 1908 and 1913 he committed several acts of terrorism. He was arrested in 1913 by the French and sent to French Guiana under sentence of ten years at hard labor and permanent banishment from Indo-China. Served three years of his sentence and then escaped. For the next ten years he pursued various professions in South America and Central America and made a large fortune. Later visited New York, Montreal, and Vancouver. He went to Canton in 1926. About 1927 Long became Finance Minister in Nguyen Hai Than's Dong-Minh-Hoi. The Japanese desired him to return to Indochina about 1939 to assist in forming a fifth column there but he refused. In 1941 he went to Formosa to see Prince Cuong De. Long remained in Formosa until the summer of 1947. He returned to Canton in 1947. Speaks Annamese, Cantonese, Fukienese, Hakka, some Mandarin, poor French, poor English. He is a very direct person, good hearted, with little subtlety. He has been generous in financing needy countrymen. His present role is principally to rally members to the Phuc-Quoc.
17. Phan Trong Doan. Born about 1900 in Tonkin. Education of the old school. He participated in the bloody events of 1930 in Tonkin and shortly afterwards left Indochina. He became an officer of the Chinese Army. In 1939, when the Japanese entered Canton, he left the Chinese Army and went to Hong Kong. Doan became a merchant and remained in Hong Kong throughout the war. He was recently recruited by the Phuc-Quoc. He is the "permanent" member of the Phuc-Quoc at Hong Kong. Speaks Annamese, Cantonese, Mandarin.
18. Truong Anh Nghia. Born about 1890 in Tonkin. Son of a mandarin, he received a good education of the old school. He left Indochina about 1920 and travelled extensively in China, Formosa, and Japan. Nghia was possibly a Japanese intelligence agent during the war and lived for a time in Manila and possibly in Singapore. He has had several professions including that of a newspaperman. At present, he is in charge of the written propaganda of the Phuc-Quoc. He is a facile but not a very profound writer. Nghia speaks and writes Annamese, Cantonese, Mandarin, Fukienese, Japanese, French, and English.
19. Bang (this is his family name, his personal name is unknown.) Born about 1908 in Tonkin. Few details are available regarding his past. About 1925 he was at the Whampoa Military Academy. He became an officer in the Chinese Army. In 1939 he was sent to Hanoi by the Kuomintang to assassinate Tang Ching Wei just prior to the latter's collaboration with the Japanese.

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-7-

He succeeded only in assassinating Wang's secretary. Hang and his three companions were arrested by the French and imprisoned in the Maison Centrale in Hanoi until 1945. Details of his liberation are unknown. Although of Annamese birth, he has become practically Chinese. It is possible that he is a Kuomintang agent placed inside the PhuocQuoc to observe them.

20. Liu P'un. Chinese. Born in Kwangtung about 1913. He spent several years in Tonkin, principally Hanoi. He worked with the Viet Minh at Clobang in 1945. He went to Canton in 1946 for the Viet Minh and founded the Siao-Vietnamese Friendship Association. The history of this Association is vague and the actual degree that it was authorized by the Viet Minh is obscure. It was never very active and during 1947 it was allowed to die almost completely. Since 1947, Liu P'un has been selling information to various political parties, both Vietnamese and Chinese. He speaks Chinese and Annamese, no French or English.

25X1X ~~Comment.~~ Probably many of these names are pseudonyms. Pseudonyms occur frequently in the case of Vietnamese political figures and it is often impossible to determine which names are real and which are false.)

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